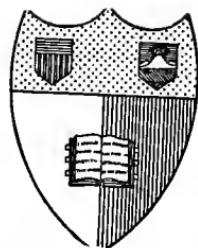


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THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS OF THE
MASTERS OF THE REVELS

BY

CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES

LONDON

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THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
ACCOUNTS OF THE MASTERS OF
THE REVELS

BY
MRS. CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES

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'SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS OF THE MASTER OF
THE REVELS'

CORRIGENDA

p. 4, 5th line from foot, *read* 'Rocke' for 'blocke';
" 3rd " " " " " 'Cariclea' for 'Carislea';
p. 8, 21st " top, " " " " " 'Mayde' for 'Mayds';
" 5th " foot, " " " " " 'Novembar' for 'November';
" 3rd " " " " " 'att' for 'at.'
p. 28, 22nd " top " " " " " 'this' for 'its.'



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THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS OF THE MASTERS OF THE REVELS.

THE discussions which have taken place over the genuineness of some of the documents concerning the Revels have hitherto been held in the subjective field, that is, the opinion of expert Archivists. These have not been able to agree among themselves. I have therefore asked leave to shift the Cause to another Court, to try it by another method, the objective, working by the force of facts, in determining the *truth* of Opinion.

Some of the Revels' Accounts for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been preserved, the earlier ones at Loseley, a few at the British Museum, but the bulk of the series remains in the Public Record Office, unfortunately, not by any means complete. Professor Feuillerat of Rennes has done all he could to make them more so, by bringing together, for the use of students, all the papers which refer to them from other departments, in his 'Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth.' I attempt first to note a few points in the Sixteenth Century Account Books which throw light on those of the *Seventeenth Century*. In the Audit Office, Accounts Various, Bundle 1213,¹ we still can find the following books, clean and clear:

1. 1570-1 to 1572, bills of expenses, with a list of the names of plays—
2. 1572-3, bills of expenses, no list of plays.
3. 1573-4, " " a list of plays.
4. 1574-5, " " no list of plays.
-

¹ Now removed to A. O. III, 1907.

4 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

5. 1576-7, bills of expenses, list of plays.
6. Feb., 1577-8-9, bills of expenses, list of plays. Tilney.
7. 1st Nov., 1579-1st Nov., 1580, bills of expenses, list of plays.
8. 1st Nov., 1580-31st Oct., 1581, bills of expenses, list of plays.
9. 1st Nov., 1582-31st Oct., 1583, bills of expenses, list of plays.
10. 31st Oct., 1584-31st Oct., 15—, bills of expenses, list of plays.
11. A duplicate of this, not quite so perfect.
12. { 31st Oct., 1587-1st Nov., 1588, no list of plays.
A duplicate of this in British Museum, Lansd. MS. 59,
art. 21.

Up to number 11 these are written on very large folio sheets, No. 12 is little more than half size, and is not so complete. Someone, probably the Auditor, has written against it on the first page, 'The names of the plaies wold be expressed,' and against the last page, 'The parcells were wount to be more particularly expressed.' That set of eleven account books give us much information regarding the development of the Court Drama. The advance in the Dramatists, the Plays, the Properties go on together. In the first book John Carow's 'properties' shew traces of some old 'miracle play' in his entry. 'Bodyes of men in timber; Dishes for Devil's eyes, Hell and Hell mouth.'

In the books not completed by a list of names one can still gather something of the subjects performed from the expenses, as in 1572-3, 'For making of a Chariott xiiij foote long and viij foote brode with a blocke upon it and a fountayne therein, with the furnishing and garnishing thereof for Apollo and the nine Muses.' Again, '2 speares for the play of Carislea . . . an awlter for Theagenes.' 'A tree of Holly for Dutton's play, . . . and other trees for the Forest.'

‘Comfits for flakes of Yse and Hayle Stones in the Masque of Janus.’ ‘Arnold the painter for the picture of Andromeda.’ Though none of the books give a list of the poets, the names of some are incidentally mentioned, as in 1574-5, ‘A periwig of haire for King Xerxus his sister, in Farrants play . . .’ ‘Leashes, doghookes, bawdricks for the Hornes in Hunneyes play.’ There are even a good many names of plays to be gleaned, as ‘When my Lord Chamberlain’s players did shew the History of Fedrastus and Phigor and Lucia.’ ‘When my Lord of Leicesters men shewed the matter of Panecia.’ ‘When my Lord Clynton’s players rehearsed a matter called *Pretextus*.’

The ‘book’ for the year 1587-8, we have seen, does not yield us the names of its plays nor much other material to infer them. It may have been confused by pressure through the absorption in Armada affairs. Be that as it may, no other account of this series has been preserved until after the death of Elizabeth. It is very remarkable how often records fail us, just when they are most needed, for the Life of Shakespeare! There is only one personal link which kept up the connection of those early Court-plays, with later modes under which we know plays to have been performed, only one person who lived through and directed them from the infancy of the Drama, to its ripe perfection under James, and he has been too little noted. Edmund Tilney was appointed Master of the Revels for Life on 24th July, 1579 (Pat. Rolls 21, Eliz. p. 7, m. 8). The Mastership of the Revels was an office of great dignity; the Heralds placed its holder in order of precedence, to rank with the Lieutenant of the Tower (see Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. clxviii, p. 120^v). For his powers see Patent Office Rolls 1606 (Watson’s Rolls, m. 34, No. 46). For this article it is sufficient to remember that he had to choose, reform, and set on plays; to superintend his inferior officers, The Clerk Comptroller, The

6 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

Clerk, and the Yeoman, and to check the work and the bills of the different workmen in the various departments. He enters, in 1582-3—‘Edmund Tyllney Esquire, Master of the Office, being sente for to the Courte by letter from Mr. Secretary dated the 10th of Marche 1582-3. To choose out A companie of Players for her Majestie,’ and adds ‘the expenses of himself and his horse’ in executing this commission.¹ This was before the arrival of Shakespeare in London. But Shakespeare did come. No one seems to have thought of noting the important relations which must have existed between these two men, or try to realise their influence upon each other. The power of the Censor was one of the three main external limitations of Shakespeare’s tastes and genius, the two others being, the acting powers of his company at the time of his planning a play, and the taste of the audience.

It is hardly likely that Mr. Tilney knew anything of Shakespeare when the Queen made her progress to Cowdray and Titchfield in 1591, and came to dine with him at Leatherhead on the way home. We know that she did so, because The Treasurer of the Chamber records the expenses of preparation, ‘for making ready at Mr. Tilney’s House at Leatherheyde for her Majestie to dine at’ (Dec. Acc. Treas. Chamb. Audit Office, Bundle 385, Roll 29). The remainder of the story can be found in my ‘Life of Southampton,’ page 46 *et seq.*

One can well imagine Tilney being severe, like Robert Greene, on the young rustic who had begun, after an apprenticeship as a performer, as a patcher of plays; his intense surprise when this same rustic shewed that he needed no ‘borrowed feathers,’ but could grow a goodly crop of his own. ‘Venus and Adonis’ appeared, licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, patronised by the popular and critical young Earl of

¹ This must have had an enormous influence on the fortunes of the other men’s and children’s companies.

Southampton, welcomed by all readers, high and low, scholars and poets alike. Thereafter would certainly set in interesting currents between these two men, and they would be sure to become friends in their great work of teaching the *English people what they ought to like*. An almost equal surprise would possess Tilney's soul when Meres' Book came out in 1598, comparing the Shakespeare *he had reformed* with the greatest writers of classical times. They were prepared to work together when James came into power and took the poet into his Royal Service, thus raising him in social status.

The accession of James brings us to the 'Seventeenth Century Revels' Books.' These are, unfortunately, even less regularly consecutive than those of the sixteenth century. There are eighteen books in all, consisting of:

1. 1504-5, with a list of plays, players and poets.
2. 1611-12, with a list of plays and players.
3. 1623-4, smaller folio, no lists.
4. 1630-1, " " "
5. 1631-2, " " "
6. 1632-3, " " "
7. 1633-4, " " "
8. 1634-5, " " "
9. 1632-5 (1) Warrant for extra payment for extra work done in September for 3 years.
 (2) List of plays, 1636-7.
 (3) Warrant for payment of these plays. No workmen's or other expenses noted.
10. 1660-1, smaller folio, no lists.
11. 1661-2, " " "
12. 1662-3, " " "
13. 1663-4, " " "
14. 1664-5, " " "
15. 1666-7, " " "
16. 1667-8, " " "
17. 1668-9, " " "
18. 1669-70, " " "

None of these are written on large folio sheets like those of the sixteenth century, none of them furnish us

8 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

with similar gossipy general information, only three of these have lists attached, numbers 1 and 2, and number 9. But the latter, though it has often been called a 'Revels' Book,' is not a book at all, even in the limited sense in which the other 'Books' can be so distinguished. It contains one warrant dated 1635 and signed by Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery as Lord Chamberlain, which is not connected by any link with the other two documents. One of these is a loose, unsigned list of twenty-two plays, the other is a warrant also signed by Pembroke and Montgomery, for the payment of the amount allowed for the performance of twenty-two plays. The three were unconnected with each other, when I first saw them. There are so many reasons to suspect the genuineness of these three lists, that I felt I must make a special investigation into facts concerning them. Having done so lately, by spending, for the third time, six months careful work on the subject, it seems worth recording the result, when we remember, that, except in one case, 'the proude Mayds,' we have no authority, beyond these lists, for the performances of certain plays at the stated dates, or even at the given seasons. To facilitate understanding, the tables themselves should be reproduced, as far as print allows.

THE REVELS BOOKE. ANO. 1605.

The Accompte of the Office of the
Reveles of this whole yeres Charge in
Ano 1604; untell the last of October
1605.

(1) The Plaiers.
By the Kings
Matis Plaiers.

Hallamas Day being the first of November
A Play in the Banketinge House
at Whithall called The Mour of Veins.

The Poetes
which mayd
the plaiers.

(2) By his Matis
Plaiers.

The Sunday followinge A Play of the
Merry wiues of Winsor.

(3) By his Matis Plaiers.	On St Stiuens night in the Hall A Play called Mesur for Mesur.	Shaxberd.
	On St Jons night A maske with Musike presented by the Erl of Penbrok, the Lord Willowbie and six Knights more of the Courte.	
(4) By his Matis Plaiers.	On Inosents Night The pliae of Errors.	Shaxberd.
(5) By the Queens Matis Plaiers.	On Sunday following A plaie caled How to larne of a woman to woo.	Hewood.
(6) The Boyes of the Chapell.	On Newers Night A playe called All Foulles.	By George Chapman.
(7) By his Matis Plaiers.	Betwin Newers Day And Twelfe Day A play of Loues Labours Lost.	
	On Twelfe Night The Queens Matis Maske of Moures with Aleuen Laydies of Honnor to Accupayney her Matie which cam in great showes of Devises which they satt in with exselenst musike.	
(8) By his Matis Plaiers.	On the 7 of January ws played the play on Henry the fift.	
(9) By his Matis Plaiers.	The 8 of January A play cauled Euery on out of his Umor.	
(10) By his Matis Plaiers.	On Candlemas night A playe Euery one in his Umor.	
(11)	The Sunday following A playe provided and discharged.	
(12) By his Matis Plaiers.	On Shroue Sunday A play of the Martchant of veins.	Shaxberd.
(13) By his Matis Plaiers.	On Shroue Monday A Tragidye of The Spanish Maz :	
(14) ¹ By his Matis Plaiers.	On Shrouetusday A playe cauled The Martchant of Venis Againe commanded by the Kings Matie.	Shaxberd.

This series of 'Revells Books,' being the *Particular* or *Ledger Books* of the Office, enumerating each item in

¹ The numerals are mine for references.

10 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

each department which helped to make up the sum total of the expenses, was each in turn handed over to the Auditors, who engrossed the accounts, modified the language, and declared it *upon oath*, before some great court official, as the Lord Treasurer or the Lord Chancellor, who had power to give them a warrant for payment. The Players being the King's Grooms of the Chamber, seem to have had their accounts *declared* before a Committee of the Privy Council, who also gave them a warrant for payment. All these warrants were then handed to the Treasurer of the Chamber, who paid them, retaining the warrants. Therefore, when the Treasurer of the Chamber declared his accounts of the money he had spent, they must agree with the Statements of the Ledger Books.

The Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber are preserved in two forms—that of the Audit Office on paper and that of the Pipe Office on parchment. They should agree in every detail. Therefore, they may be used as a means of checking backwards the statements made in the Revels' Office Accounts. Thus in the first entry:

(1) Stating that *The Moor of Venice* (supposed to be *Othello*) was performed in the Banqueting House on the 1st November, 1604, we can turn to the payment made for that performance by the Treasurer of the Chamber and some of the others.

To John Hemmings one of the Kings Majesties players on the Counsells Warrant dated at Whitehall 21st January, 1604-5, for the paynes and expenses of himself and the rest of his company, for presenting 6 interludes or plays before his Majestie viz, on All Saints day at night one, on the Sunday at night following being the 4th of November 1604 one; on St. Stephens day at night; one on Innocent's Day at night and one on the 7th and 8th days of January for euerie play 20 nobles the play and his Majesties reward 5 nobles . . . in all £60.

Comparing this list of payments with the Play List above, we see that there *was* a play performed on 1st November that year; there is no further evidence that it was *Othello*; and proof positive is forthcoming that it was *not* performed in the Banqueting House. Whenever the King removed, some groom of his chamber was sent in advance of him, to prepare the rooms which he would be using. Their charges, being of the household, were guaranteed by the Lord Chamberlain direct, and appear in a separate part of the account. There we can find

To George Pollard for . . . making ready for the King & Queen at Whitehall, . . . 16 days October, 1604. . . . For making ready the *Greate Chamber* at Whitehall for the King's Majestie to see the plaies . . . by the space of two daies mense Nouembris, 1604 . . . for making readie the Banqueting House at Whitehall for the King's Majestie againte the plaie, by the space of four daies mense Nouembris, 1604.

As the Revels' season began on 31st October, Pollard might be justified in reckoning his first two days from the morning of 31st October till the evening of 1st November as in November. But by no possible arithmetical process could he squeeze in four days of preparation of the Banqueting House into that November, so if *Othello* were played on that day (which is doubtful), it is certain that it was *not* played in the Banqueting House. Another point may be remembered in the Declared Account, as given above. It always distinguishes between day and night performances. The List, on the contrary, makes no such distinction. It says *Hallamas Day*. The Declared Accounts say 'All Saints *Day at night*.' How were the Treasurers of the Chamber to be supposed to know whether it was an afternoon or evening performance, if the Master of the Revels did not tell them?

(2) The Declared Accounts shew that there was a

play on the Sunday following, it might have been *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, there is no further proof. But again it may be noted it was not played on *Sunday*, but on 'Sonday at night' following, being the 4th November.

(6) This item requires a double correction. The Choristers of the Chapel were not called 'Boys,' but 'Children'; had they then played as 'Children of the Chapel,' the payment would have been made to their Master, Nathaniel Giles, but it was paid to 'Samuel Daniel and Henrie Evans.' . . . for the 'Queen's Majesties Children of the Revels,' and it was paid for '2 plaies,' both before the King, one on 'New Yeres Day at night, and the other on the 3rd day of January.' But more is meant than here meets the eye. Contemporary clerks would know that on 30th January, 1603-4, Evans, Kirkham, Kendal and others had a license for bringing Children up to be able to perform plays, these Children to be called 'The Children of the Queen's Revels.' Samuel Daniel was to superintend these, to 'allow them.' This syndicate was allowed to use as a nucleus those of the Children of the Chapel Royal who were already trained for acting. The young 'company' performed under their new name on 20th February, 1603-4. On 17th September, 1604, Nathaniel Giles, in consolation for his losses thereby, had a warrant allowed him 'to take up children' to recruit his choristers. So it is clear the clerk would not deprive the young performers of the glory of their new name, had he really entered this performance. Further, he would not have forgotten that they played a *second* time on the 3rd January, so this gives us two errors against the scribe. It may be noted that the 3rd January performance displeased the Court, and 'the Children of the Queen's Revels' were inhibited, and never played again; so that 'Rosseter,' one of the above syndicate, when he wished to utilise 'The Children' in the following year, boldly calls them then

‘the *Children* of the Chapel’ to steer clear of the inhibited Company’s name.

(7) This entry requires even more serious correction. No such phrase was ever used in the ‘Revels’ Books’ as this indefinite guess ‘betwin’ the dates. The Declared Accounts above show that the King’s Players did *not* play before the King at any date between New Year’s Day and Twelfth Night, which was the 6th January. They played on the day after, and the day after that again, that is the 7th and 8th January. If they did not play it, no one else dare do so, for *Love’s Labours Lost* was the property of the King’s Company. They not only did not play that play, but they did not perform any play, nor did anybody else during that period. This is proved by the very ‘Revels’ Book’ whose list I am criticising, for in giving the expenses of the men who helped the performers they include ‘To 6 men on New Yeres Day; to 6 men on Twelfth Eve and Twelfth Day; to 4 men on Monday and Tuesday following’—i.e. 7th and 8th January. That is, no help was required between the dates of New Year’s Day and Twelfth Eve. I did not fail to notice that the same stricture might cover the second performance of the Children of the Queen’s Revels, which was on 3rd January, and *between these dates*. But it is possible that Daniel and Evans might have worked their own performance by the help of other ‘children’ for themselves. They were at least paid for a performance on that date, and it was not ‘*Love’s Labours Lost*.’ To save further discussion I must, however, explain that there *was* a performance of *Love’s Labours Lost* that season, though not before the King and not on that date. The circumstances were peculiar. After a gay season the King’s second son was created Duke of York on Twelfth Day, in the evening the Queen displayed her costly Masque; the King heard the plays on the 7th and 8th January, and he was exhausted. On

the 9th he wrote the Privy Council that he must have some recreation, and was about to go to Royston to secure it. But he enjoined them to go on with their meetings at the Queen's Court and execute business. A letter in the handwriting of Thomas Phillips on the 10th January implies that the festivities were all over, because the King had left. But the Queen had her brother with her, and wanted to amuse him. Sir Robert Cecil (then Lord Cranborne) and the Earl of Southampton held offices under the Queen, and called themselves her servants. They naturally desired to please her. Walter Cope was trying to help Lord Cranborne to find a suitable play to produce before her, and he wrote the memorable letter :

To Viscount Cranborne—Sir, I haue sent and bene all thys morning hunteyng for players juglers, and suche kinde of Creatures, but fynde them hard to finde; wherefore leauing notes for them to seek me Burbage ys come and sayes there is no new playe that the Queen hath not seene, but they haue reuyued an olde one cawled Loue's Labour Loste which for wytt and mirthe he sayes will please her exceedingly. And thys ys apointed to be playd tomorrowe night at my Lord of Southampton's, unless you send a wrytt to remoue the *Corpus cum Causa* to your howse in the Strand. Burbage ys my messenger ready attending your pleasure. Youers most humbly

From your Librarye.

WALTER COPE.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cranborne at the Court.¹

This letter is undated, but a date can be found for it.² Cranborne did not appropriate that play; it was duly

¹ One objection has been made that Cunningham could not have seen Cope's letter, as it was not *known* until 1872, after his death. That is not the case. It was not *printed* until then, in the Report of the Historical MSS. Commission. But the Cecil Papers were well known to scholars before that date, as Secretaries superintended the Library at Hatfield and students were admitted to study the reigns of Elizabeth and James. Cunningham might certainly have been among these visitors. (See 'Records of Royalty,' by Charles Jones, 1821, vol. II, p. 156.)

² i.e., 11th January, 1604-5.

performed at Southampton House. Carleton wrote a letter to Chamberlain dated 15th January, 1604-5. He said he had thought he would have had no news to give his friend. He thought the festivities had been ended 'but for the enclosed':

it seems we shall have Christmas all the year. . . . The laste night's revels were kept at my Lord Cranborne's where ye Quene with ye Duke of Holstein, and a greate parte of the Court were feasting, and ye like two nights before at my Lord of Southampton's. . . .

That is, Cranborne's feast was on the 14th January, Southampton's on the 12th. To return to the entry of the play in the Revels' List, purporting to give a list of the plays performed 'before the King,' how could any clerk come to include *Love's Labours Lost*, of which the only thing that he knew was that it was *not* before the King? He neither knew the date nor the place of its production, and guessed 'betwin New Yeres Day and Twelfth Night.' How could a contemporary Clerk of the Revels, paid handsomely to record the performances *before the King*, make such an extraordinary blunder? And what would his chief, the Master of the Revels, say to him on such an occasion? The Master would have to 'reform' his own books in that case. In regard to the remaining plays, we still have the same uncertainty in regard to their names, but on the King's return from Royston, his players performed before him on Candlemas night, that is the 2nd February, said here to have been 'Euery one in his Umor.'

(11) There is no corroborative evidence that a play was 'provided and discharged' on the 3rd February. On the contrary, there is an entry in the Declared Accounts all to itself:

To John Heming . . . on the Counsells Warrant, dated at the Court at Greenwich 28th day of April 1605 for himself

16 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

and the rest of his company for an enterlude or play performed before the King at Court on 3rd February 1604-5. . . . in all £10.

I am aware that there was a possibility that some play by some other company had been ready for the occasion, and had been countermanded on the Lord Chamberlain hearing there was 'some offence in it,' while the ever-ready Burbage and his company had some other interlude ready, even on the spur of the moment, to take its place. But if it were so, any *real* Clerk of the Revels, entering items to be presented to the Paymaster would have selected the one that was really performed, and really was to be paid for. So this must be entered as among the scribe's *errors*.

Some notice may be taken of the third column of the Play List of 1604-5, that of 'The Poets which mayd the playes.' No such list ever appeared, before or since, in the 'Revels' Books.' The Master of the Revels had nothing to do with the plays but to choose them, to reform them, to produce them. Neither he nor the Treasurer of the Chamber paid the poets, their own companies paid them. So what was the use of recording their names in their bills? It may be remembered that the officers of the Revels were chosen from well-educated gentlemen, the Master of the Revels ranked with the Lieutenant of the Tower. They were in Court life. The Court spelling of Shakespeare's name was *always* the modern one, as they had read it on his poems, as all Court entries of the time were spelt,—in the Declared Accounts for 1594, in the patent for the King's Players in 1603; in the grant of red cloth for the King's Coronation in the Lord Chamberlain's books. It is true that in some of the Stratford records we find the name spelt sometimes Shaxsper, once even Chacksper—in rustic phonetics. In no case, anywhere, is there a terminal dental sound. I know that Sir E. Maunde Thompson bravely tries to accept the 'd'

as a possible flourish of a terminal 'e,' but I do not think he really means this. To me, the affected rusticity of the style gives a strong proof against the genuineness of the document.

No other 'Revels Booke' is preserved until that of 1611-12, and that runs:

The Chardges betwixe the last of October 1611 . . . untell the first of November 1612. . . . The names of the playes And by what company played them hereafter followeth As also what Maskes and Triumphes at the Tilts were presented before the Kings Majestie in this year 1612.

(1) By the Kings players	Hallamas nyght was presented att Whitehall before the Kinges Majestie A play called The Tempest.
(2) The Kings players	The 5th of November A play called ye Winters nights Tayle.
(3) The Kings players	On St. Stivenes night A play called a King or no King, and running at ye Ring.
(4) The Queen's players	St. Johns night A play called The City gallant.
(5) The Princes players	The Sunday followinge a play called The Almanack.
(6) The King's Players	On New Yeres night, a Play called The Twinnes Tragidie and running at the Ring.
(7) The Children of Whitefriars.	The Sunday following, A play called Cupid's Revenge.
(8) By the Queens Players and the Kings Players	Twelfe Night The Princes Maske performed by Gentlemen of his Houseold and running at the Ring. This day the King and the Prince with diuers of his noblemen did run at the Ring for a Prize.
(9) By the Queens Players	The Sunday following at Grinwidge, before the Queen and the prince was played The Silver Aiedg and ye next night following Lucrecia.
(10) By the Kings Players	Candlemas night a play called Tu Coque.

18 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

(11) By the Duck of Yorks players	Shroue Monday A playe called Himens Haliday.
(12) By the Lady Elizabeths Players	Shroue Teuesday A play called The Proud Mayds Tragedie. On the 24th March a Triumph etc.

It may be noted that there are no names of Poets on this occasion, though two of Shakespeare's plays are included. The expenses of Masques and Triumphs were always given on a separate Bill. The performances of the King's Players before the King are given in the Declared Accounts :

To John Hemings . . . and his fellowes the Kings seruants on a warrant dated Whitehall 1st June, 1612, for 6 plays before his Majestie, one upon the last of October, one upon the 1st of Nouember, one upon the 5th of Nouember, one upon the 26th of December, one upon the 5th of January, and one upon Shroue Sunday at night, being the 23rd of February. . . .

We see there that the season started with an unnamed play on the 31st October, not entered at all by the Clerk of the Revels (or his substitute)! How, then, did the Treasurer of the Chamber come to know of it, and to pay for it? This must be reckoned one error against the scribe that year.

(1) The first play of the list, which should have been the second, is here called *The Tempest*. There is no corroborative support to this statement.

(2) Though there is no support to the date of this performance, there is proof that *The Winter's Tale* was in existence. Simon Forman saw it at the Globe in the spring before, on 15th May.

(5) The Prince's Players did play on 'the Sunday following,' which was the 29th December. But they played not once, but *twice*, and that on consecutive nights. The Declared Accounts say: 'To Edward Jubye . . . and the Prince's Players . . . for 2 playes

. . . before his Majestie, one on the 28th December last, and one on the 29th December.' So this is another play short in the bill and another error against the scribe. How did the Treasurer of the Chamber come to know of it and pay for it?

(6) The King's Players did not play at all on New Year's Day or Night that year, as may be seen from the Declared Account. But they did play on the 5th January, which was the Sunday following. So this is another error against the scribe, if not two.

(7) The Children of Whitefriars did not play before the King that night, and this particular night, we have seen above, was booked to the King's Players. A further error must, therefore, be noted.

(8) The Prince's Masque being performed on Twelfth Night (a separate performance) the list states that the Queen's men and the King's men played together at Greenwich 'the Sunday following *The Silver Age* of Heywood.' That Sunday was the 12th January. Heywood does state that it took both these companies to perform some of his plays, but he is referring to public stages. As the list we are discussing ostensibly records only the performances before the King (and Queen), this one should not have been entered at all, as it was said to be performed before 'the Queen and Prince' only. That, therefore, is an error. Further, there is no record from the Declared Accounts of any payments being given to either the Queen's men or the King's men on that occasion. There is even a more serious objection; neither the Queen nor the Prince was at Greenwich at that date to hear any play. The Queen had gone to Greenwich the previous November, and had only left the Palace there on 20th December to go back to Whitehall to meet the King coming back from Royston for the Christmas performances. She had something else to do before she hurried back again to Greenwich so soon, and others had to do something.

Among the expenses of the *preparing grooms* in the Declared Account we find that:

Peter Franck was paid 'for making ready the Queen's Majestys lodgings at Greenwich by the space of 12 dayes, Mense Januarii 1611-12 . . . to making ready the Kings Majestys lodgings for her Majesty by the space of 8 days more' 'then he started making readie rooms for the Princess Elizabeth over the Kings lodgings'—all in January. Peter Franck also 'made ready The Chapple and the Closet for her Majesty at Greenwich, and for altering the great Chamber for a play . . . in February' he also made 'ready Lord's Suffolk's Lodgings for the King to see a play in February.'

Noting these points we may turn to the Queen's arrangements. There is no proof that Peter Frank started cleaning right off on New Year's Day; during twelve days there are two Sundays on which his men would not work. (They were not *Revels Men*.) The Queen would not think of travelling on Sunday 12th to see a play that night, even if her rooms were ready for her. The earliest possible day for her to start would be the 14th January. I was inclined to reckon it later, from the amount of preparation, but here a new authority comes in. Chamberlain wrote one of his gossipy letters on the 15th January, very much dilapidated now, it is true, having lost an inch off the right-hand margin. But he seems to say: 'The Q(ueen) is gon already tow(ards Greenwich). So her progress could not have started later. Franck would have her own rooms ready for her, but he had made no preparations in any hall or chamber for any play before that date. Heywood's play, with its numerous characters and extra staging, would have required extra preparation, trouble and expense. Chamberlain could not possibly have written a Court Letter on the 15th without alluding to such a remarkable performance. So altogether it seems logically proved that Heywood's play was *not* performed that night, and the scribe in error again.

It is certain that the Prince was not in Greenwich on the 12th inst. as the list says. We know from the Declared Accounts, that he was that night in London, listening, with his brother and sister, to the Duke of York's Players under William Rowley. From his 'Book of Expenses' we know that on the 13th, he received in London £200 in ready money. From Chamberlain's letter of the 15th we learn: 'The Prince went thither on Monday' probably to Greenwich. Preparations for and performances of plays are recorded later there. Now this one entry gives us quite a crop of errors to record against the scribe. No doubt further study would result in further discoveries, but these errors are sufficient, to my mind, to prove that no contemporary Clerk of the Revels could have made them. It is only fair to record that Edmund Tilney died in 1610,¹ the accounts of that year being drawn up by his executor Thomas Tilney, and that Sir George Bue was a new hand at the job. Having tried to put the case against these two lists as dispassionately as possible, it is necessary for a full understanding, to go back and follow this 'Battle of the Books' point by point.

Discussion rose hot in the early part of the nineteenth century over the dates of some of Shakespeare's plays. Malone, who in former years had considered *The Tempest* one of Shakespeare's earlier plays, had come to believe that it was not only written, but performed, in 1611. He sets his reasons forth in a little booklet, published 1808, called 'some particulars concerning *The Tempest*', in which he confesses that the discovery and reading of Sylvesters Jourdan's 'Tract on the Storm at Bermudas' and the 'True Declaration Concerning the state of the Colony there,' both dated 1610, made it *certain* that Shakespeare wrote this special play at once. He refers to a previous essay of his own, in which he had proved (to his own satisfaction) that it was also performed in the

¹ See his Will, p. 35.

22 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

year 1611. A careful examination of all Malone's works and editions, up to the Variorum Edition of 1821, has not helped me to find that essay, or even meet 'the proof' in any other article. Miss Latham kindly did the work over again for my help, with but the same results.

Into the inner circle of the 'Scholars' there arose a young man Peter Cunningham, with special opportunities of testing Shakespeare questions. He had been given a post in The Audit Office in 1834, he was a member of the Shakespeare Society, sometime a secretary. His doings may be gleaned from the 'Transactions.' He threw himself with zest into all its interests, and in 1842 one of his works was published by the Society, entitled 'Extracts from the Revels Accounts.' The bulk of it concerned the Sixteenth Century Revels' Books, and was fairly, not absolutely, accurate. His great novelty lay in three new Revels' Books of the seventeenth century, which he claimed to have '*found*' lying about neglected in the underground receptacles then used for old records. These three papers were the two above discussed and a third one. They seemed to still all dispute about the dates of Shakespeare's plays. So things went on until 1860, Cunningham, though resigning from the Audit Office, rising in Shakespearian lore as a recognised critic. Then something happened. He had kept these three documents in his own possession, and though '*found*' within the precincts of the Record Office, he had never fitted them into the niche they should have held there. It is said he had taken to drink and wanted money. He offered the third document to Mr. Waller, a bookseller in the Strand, who purchased it. He offered the two more important 'Books' to the British Museum for sale. They asked how much he wanted. He seems to have referred to his friend John Payne Collier (who lived next door), and to have asked £60. The British Museum Officials

however, considering the circumstances, thought it right to impound them, and hand them over to the authorities at the Record Office to deal with. They kept them, and recorded the event in the Historical Manuscript Commission Report for that year.

A storm of comment ran through the literary societies and papers, and Mr. Waller came forward to restore to the Record Office the document he had purchased. The authorities of the date enclosed the three in a sheet of blue office paper, recording the fact that these documents having been out of their possession for so long a time, and on other accounts, could not be held as authoritative. The suggested suspicion demanded a succession of examinations by careful scholars, and they were unanimously pronounced to be forgeries. Cunningham shortly after died. In that stage I first saw them. But a new stir arose when, in 1879, Halliwell Phillipps discovered among the Malone MSS. at the Bodleian, a note which seemed to support the statements of the 1604-5 Play-List. He was in a fever of perplexity, and did the best thing possible, he printed the note first in one of his little booklets, then in the fifth edition of his 'Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.'

'Malone's Scrap' runs as follows:

1604 and 1605. Ed. Tylney Sunday after Hallowmas Merry Wyues of Wyndson perf by the Kings players. Hallamas—in the Banqueting Ho^s at Whitehall the Moor of Veins perf'd by the K.s players.—On St Stephens night Mesur for Mesur by Shaxberd perf'd by the K's players. On Innocent's night Errors by Shaxberd perf'd by the K's players. On Sunday following 'How to learn of a woman to wooe by Hewood perf'd by the Q's players. On New Years night All Fools by G. Chapman perf'd by the Boyes of the Chapel.

Bet New Yrs day and Twelfth day Loues Labour Lost perf'd by the K's players. On the 7th Jan Kg Hen the fifth perf'd by the K's players. On Jan 9th Euery one out of his Humour On Shroue Sunday the Marchant of Veins by Shaxberd perf'd by the K's P^{rs} the same repeated on Shroue Tuesd by the

24 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

K's command. (The play on Shrove Monday is omitted.)
Malone MS. 29.

It was stuck into an album about 1875, where it occupies the centre of a sheet of paper, p. 69, No. 107. It is not in Malone's handwriting, but many notes were sent him, or copied for him, so that is not surprising.

It was generally believed at first to have reached the Bodleian in 1821, when the bulk of his papers went there, and it seemed very bewildering. I went down to the Bodleian on purpose to see it, and Mr. Madan kindly loosened it from its page that I might see the back. There was no mark of any kind there; the paper was half of a large folio sheet, the watermark was cut in two, and there was no watermark expert in the Bodleian to gain anything from it. It had been told me that the transcript had been made so carefully that the dot over the i in 'Venis' followed the Revels' List in writing it as 'Veins.' That, however, was soon disproved, for though on the whole the same, the note is contracted, slightly altered, one entry, the first, put out of order and one omitted altogether. So the dot merely points to some *habit* of the writer, and may be accounted for in more than one way. Mr. Madan comforted me not a little by shewing me his catalogue of Additions to the Western MSS., and by saying that no notice had been taken of this, among the other MSS., before Halliwell Phillipps saw it, that it did not seem to have come among the early MSS. in 1821, but was more likely to have been among those purchased in 1838 from Mr. Thomas Rodd, a bookseller with antiquarian tastes in London. That sheds light on confused ideas, and makes it possible that the same hand, or at least brain, was responsible for the writing of both documents, and that it might have been 'planted' among Mr. Rodd's lot.

The next stage in the history of these three 'Revels' Books' commenced in 1911 when Mr. Ernest Law, desirous of clearing the character of Peter Cunningham

and the trustworthiness of his 'extracts,' brought out a small quarto volume called 'Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries,' in which he states that some great handwriting experts had agreed with him and pronounced these three papers 'genuine.' I am glad that I had the courage, even then, to come forward alone in support of my opinion that they were not. Hence followed a discussion in the 'Athenæum' during the last half of 1911 and 1912, between Mr. Ernest Law and myself (writing, for a special reason, under the name of *Audi Alteram Partem*). I could not expect to be accepted by anybody as an 'expert' on *handwriting*, but I had fortified my opinion by matters of *fact*. Unfortunately I made a mistake, just where I least deserved to do so, in discussing the third document. I had been through *all* the Lord Chamberlain's books and his accounts (unfortunately lost for the Shakespearian period). I had already sent to the 'Shakespeare Jahr-Buch' two articles, one which appeared in 1910 'Shakespeare's Fellows and Followers,' and a companion paper 'Dramatic Notices from the Privy Council Register,' which appeared in the following year. I knew that Charles I had allowed his players extra payment when they performed at Hampton Court, on account of their greater expenses and losses.¹

But I forgot, temporarily, that 1636-7 was a plague-year, and the arrangements of the players, as well as of others, disorganized thereby. They were obliged to live near Hampton Court, to avoid bringing infection. The King paid for their expense incurred thereby, so they did not receive 'extra money for Hampton Court.' I discovered this on 25th July, 1911, and wrote off at once to the Editor, asking him to correct the second part of my first letter. He decided that it was fairer to wait until Mr. Law had reached that point, which he did not do until 29th April, 1912. Then the Editor

¹ See D.S.S.P., CAR. I, cccxxxvii (33) 31st December, 1636.

26 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

printed my self-correction in the same issue as Mr. Law's. The whole number of letters (should any one care to follow) :

'Athenæum' July 22nd and 29th, 1911, Audi A. P. September 9th, 16th and 30th, 1911, pp. 291, 324, 388, E. Law. October 7th, 1911, Audi, etc., p. 422. April 6th, 1912, p. 390, E. Law. April 27th, 1912, p. 469, Audi. Same issue, p. 470, E. Law. August 10th, 1912, p. 143, Audi.

The Editor then closed the discussion.

In 1920 when I had completed and handed over to the Press my 'Life of Southampton,' I returned to Shakespeare-Study proper. I found that Mr. Law had written a second quarto volume nominally reporting the discussion, called 'More About Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries.' This was so full of misconceptions that I felt it necessary for the benefit of other students to restate my case, calmly, clearly, without personalities, or irrelevances which always cloud air which should be kept clear for the keen eyes of critical readers. I spent six months in going through all the details again, chiefly in the Record Office, and my Statement appeared in 'The Times Literary Supplement,' 2nd December, 1920, and on 24th February, 1921. Between these dates Mr. Law wrote on 23rd and 30th December, 1920, and on 17th January, 1921. I had not written to discuss Mr. Law's books; but to point out to fellow-students the discrepancies between the 'Revels' Books' and *facts*.

One list remains to be considered. The Editor of 'The Times Literary Supplement' thought my Statement quite long enough, and refused to include the third 'Revels' Book,' that of 1636-7. This is much less important than the other two, because it refers to a period after Shakespeare's death, and only throws light on his continued popularity. But it was important to discuss it—nobody else had done so—and it remains a

peculiar relic of past literary history. It also was one of the three documents 'found' by and associated with Mr. Peter Cunningham. This third document, formerly called loosely a 'Revels' *Book*' had much less right to the title than the other two. It consisted of three documents, loose, which had never been attached to each other (at the time I first saw them). The first is a genuine warrant, signed by Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery as Lord Chamberlain, granting the players extra payment for extra service, their work having begun for the three previous years, 1632-5, in September, instead of on the 31st October, as they had been wont to do. This warrant is dated 25th May, 1636. Another is a genuine Warrant, signed by the same nobleman, to pay to Lowen and Taylor for themselves and the other members of the King's company for performing 21 plays, at £10 each, and one play, called 'The Royal Slave,' for which they were to receive the large allowance of £30, in all £240. On this paper is signed Eyllardt Swanston's signature for three part-payments, the whole not having been received by him until 5th June, 1638. The third document is a *list* purporting to give the names of these 22 plays (the name of only one being mentioned in the warrant).

There is a remarkable paucity of material concerning the stage during the particular year of 1636-7. Chroniclers fail to take notice of it, their attention being absorbed by greater things, the old gossiping correspondents seemed to have died out, and few successors followed. The declared Accounts of the Treasurer of Chamber are lost in both departments, the Pipe Office and the Audit Office, the first for the whole period, the second for that special year. Ordinary diarists failed to notice the points we now want. But we find one successor of Chamberlain, White, and Pory in Edward Rossingham; one notice in Archbishop's Laud's Diary; one source of information of the greatest

28 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

importance which has never been worked through for this purpose, I mean The MS. Registers of the Privy Council now at the Record Office. And there is one which should have told us more than it does. Sir Henry Herbert, the acting Master of the Revels for many years, afterwards the real 'Master' with all the dignities of the office, kept a very rough diary of notes of the performances. Malone saw this and included its materials, saying 'Herbert does not furnish us with a regular list of plays, but such as he gave, I give' Var. Ed., 1821, Prol. III, pp. 228, 239). After that Herbert's Diary was lost.¹

The List of the 'Revels' Book' differs materially from that gleaned from Herbert by Malone. It may be read in Peter Cunningham's 'Extracts from the Revels' Accounts,' 1842. But it is difficult to point out discrepancies without having a transcript before our eyes; so that I provide one, as I did with the other Lists, adding my own numerals for reference, and distinguishing the plays *not* mentioned by Herbert by printing them in italics. No 'Account' is associated with its paper, and the performances recorded do not begin on the 31st October as they were wont to do, not even in September (the new date), but from the *Spring* of 1636, probably because these had been left unpaid. The list is separated into three parts by two horizontal lines, the first following the 5th May, 1636, the second following 24th January, 1636-7:

PLAYES ACTED BEFORE THE KING AND QUEEN, THIS PRESENT YEAR OF THE LORD, 1636.

- (1) Easter Monday, at the Cockpitt the first part of Arviragus.
- (2) Easter Tuesday at the Cockpitt the second part of Arviragus.
- (3) *The 21st April at the Cockpitt, The Silent Woman.*

¹ Malone's Preface, p. 410, thanks Francis Ingram of Ribbesford, Esq., for this valuable book and several other curious papers.

(4) *The 5th of May at the Blackfriars for the Queen and the Prince Elector Alfonso.*

(5) *The 17th Nouember at Hampton Court The Coxcombe.*

(6) *The 19th of Nouember at Hampton Court Beggars Bushe.*

(7) *The 29th of Nouember at Hampton Court The Maid's Tragedy.*

(8) *The 6th of December at Hampton Court The Loyall Subject.*

(9) *The 8th of December at Hampton Court the Moore of Venise.*

(10) *The 16th December at Hampton Court Loue's Pilgrimage.*

(11) St. Stephen's Daye at Hampton Court the 1st Part of Arviragus.

(12) St. Johns Daye at Hampton Court the 2nd Part of Arviragus.

(13) 1st Day of January at Hampton Court Loue and Honor.

(14) 5th January at Hampton Court The Elder Brother.

(15) 10th January at Hampton Court the King or no King.

(16) The 12th January at Hampton Court The new play from Oxford called The Royal Slaue.

(17) *The 17th January at Hampton Court Rollo.*

(18) The 24th January at Hampton Court Hamlett. (really Rollo.)

(19) The 31st January at St. James The Tragidie of Cesar.

(20) The 9th February at St. James The wife for a month.

(21) The 16th February at St. James The Gouernor. (Herbert says it was on the 17th.)

(22) The 21st February at St. James, Philaster.

Those entries italicised do not appear in Herbert's notebook, and are not supported by any other authority. Herbert gives the two first as on the 18th and 19th April, 1636, which were Easter Monday and Tuesday, and that they were before the King, Queen, Princes, and Prince Elector. He does not mention the entry of the 21st April or that of 5th May, possibly because neither were before the King. The latter is here stated to have been before the Queen and Prince Elector, the former may also have been so.

30 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

It is remarkable that Herbert skips all the others down to the:

- (11) '26th of December, The first part of *Arviragus*' again.
- (13) Herbert says 'Loue and Honor on New years *night*.' Sunday 'The Revels' List' says '*Day*.'
- (14) Herbert says 'The Elder Brother' on Thursday the 5th January.
- (16) The Royal Slaue on Thursday the 12th of January, Oxford Play, Cartright's. The King gave him £40.

Herbert gives no play on 17th January and only

- (18) 'Rollo the 24th Janua.' No allusion to Hamlet, and no name of place.

The four last Herbert supports, though he (or Malone) gives 17th instead of 16th. Herbert adds two plays by Beeston's Boys which would not have been included in the list of the King's Players performances before himself. It is, therefore, only possible for us further to discuss here the entries not made in italics (though something even may be said of them). There are, therefore, only thirteen out of twenty-two. Through the Register of the Privy Council we can glean some details as to where the King was at given dates. We know thence that after his progress in the summer and autumn of 1636, while the Queen was still at Oatlands, the King went over for three days to Windsor Castle to be present there at a Council Meeting, apparently arranging to travel the day before, to leave a whole day free for the meeting and to leave the day after. He afterwards spent the close of September and the whole of October at Windsor Castle (with a flying visit to Newmarket). In normal years the season of 'performances' might have begun by that time. We do not know whether there were facilities for such festivities at Windsor, or if any took place there. It is probable some did. We do know that the Privy Council met at Windsor on the 5th November, the King being *present*, on the 6th and

7th, on 13th November the King being present. A Royal Grant was dated at Hampton Court on the 19th November, but the Index of the Privy Signed Bills is lost, and the ordinary Royal Seal might have been used by permission 'for the King.' Such grants were issued all that year at least 'from Westminster' whether the King was there or not. On the 27th November the King was present at a Council at Windsor, and business overflowed into the three following days. On 4th and 5th December the King was present at a meeting there, the business going on again until the 9th, *there*. The first Council Meeting at Hampton Court was on the 11th December, the King being absent. Nicholas, the Secretary of State, wrote a letter from Windsor on the 14th, saying that he was going to Hampton Court on the 17th for the Council Meeting. The first at which the King was recorded as present was that on the 18th at Hampton Court. All these affect the entries in the Play List. They *cannot all be correct*. From Secretary Nicholas's letters we see that a Council Meeting meant three days at least (p. 128). In those short days, though the two palaces were not *far off*, the King evidently did not risk driving or riding about on the bad roads in the dark, even to see a play.

At this Council Meeting of the 18th December at Hampton Court the King put off all business till Twelfth Day, but there seems to have been a minor Council Meeting on the 31st December at Hampton Court. While throwing doubt on the earlier entries in Cunningham's documents, the Privy Council makes possible those of Herbert's note-book, who gives none on the 17th January, and on the 24th gives no locality and *Rollo* instead of *Hamlet*. We must go back to another even more important discrepancy concerning Twelfth Night. There was a Council Meeting on that day, where the press of business was carried over to the

32 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ACCOUNTS

7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th. Here I must make a long digression into the fortunes of the special play they were all waiting to see. Though the diarists of the time are few, Archbishop Laud was one of them, and concerned himself with that special play. He was Chancellor of the University of Oxford when the King and Queen went thither on their summer progress of 1636. The University presented before their Majesties a play called *The Persian Slave*, or *The Royal Slave*, by Cartwright. The Queen liked it so well, that she begged the loan of the play, and the dresses, to see if her own players would perform it so well. The University was very unwilling to do this, but the Archbishop persuaded them to yield, and sent the play, the clothes, and the *Perspectives of the Stage* to the Queen. Laud says that the play was performed at Hampton Court in November, and that all said 'that the Queen's Players came short of the University actors.'¹

Though I humbly desired of the King and Queen that neither the Play, nor Clothes, nor Stage, might come in the hands and use of the common players abroad.

Doubtless that aroused the King's men to wish to try if *they* could not succeed better. Evidently the King gave them the chance to do so, for he allowed them £154 for extra expenses, dancers, and other attractions. The exact date is given in the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts and the Royal Warrants, April, 1637.²

Though, as I noticed, the old news-writers had gone, others had risen up. One of them, George Garrard, writing to Lord Deputy Wentworth, on 7th February, 1637, says:

Edward Rossingham is successor to John Pory and is the best-known writer of news we have, a very honest man, as

¹ Laud's Diary ii, 104.

² D.S.S.P. cccli, 53.

your Lordship knows. It seems he was, and is employed by Sir Thomas Puckering.¹

Now this very Edward Rossingham, writing to Sir Thomas Puckering at York on 11th January, 1636-7, says :

On Tuesday (the 3rd) this last week their Majesties came to Somerset House to lodge there. Wednesday the 4th Morning the King went to Arundel House to see the rarities brought from Germany. . . . Upon Twelfth Night the 6th The Royal Slave . . . brought from Oxford, was acted by the King's Players at Hampton Court.

This Edward Rossingham was a man who might have made mistakes in his *prognostications* as to what the King was *about to do* (for he and the Queen often changed their plans), but he was in a position to be perfectly certain about what they had publicly *done*. So we may say we *know* that the King had seen '*The Royal Slave* on Twelfth Night.' But the Play List says that he *saw it* on the 12th January, and Rossingham writes on the 11th (?) : 'I know there is a double difficulty here.' Malone, transcribing Herbert's Diary, also says it was 'played on the 12th of January.' We can hardly expect that Herbert himself could have made that statement, but we could very well believe it of Malone. Cunningham frequently complains of Malone's inaccuracies towards the end of his life, when he began to lose his sight. He very well might have misread Twelfth Night into Twelfth January. The strong logic of contemporary events supports Rossingham. The King was certainly at Hampton Court on Twelfth Night, tired with a heavy day's Council work, and needing recreation. He had been accustomed to see a play on that night. The players were accustomed to play then (they were not accustomed to play on

¹ B. M. MS. 7042, 1^b also end. See also Birch's MSS., Sloane MS. 4297.

‘Twelfth January’) and their great play would be ready for the notable night.

The next Council Meeting was on the 12th January, 1636-7, the place not being noted in the Register. But there was another Council Meeting the next day, the 13th January, and that is definitely stated to have been in The Star Chamber, London. It is more than likely the two consecutive meetings were held in the same place, and that the King came up to London on the 11th to be ready for the 12th and 13th, at which he was noted as ‘present.’

The discrepancies concerning these performances (gleaned so laboriously) make me feel anew that no contemporary writer could have invented them; and that the third Play List of the seventeenth century comes into the same category as the first and second.

It may be said—*Cui Bono?*—I felt that I owed it to succeeding students, who got into Doubting Castle, to give them the key by which alone they could escape, and find their way back into the straight path of *work*. One good scholar, Mr. F. Gard Fleay, has already borne the strain. In his ‘History of Dramatic Literature,’ *edition* 1590, p. 173, he says of the writers of the seventeenth century Play Lists: ‘I wish that those who blame, may not waste years of work, as I have done, in unravelling their tangled web of deceit.’ Unfortunately he did not give his method or his discoveries to the world, and I have had to do it over again.

The need is great. *Many* writers have followed Cunningham. Among the chief, I may note that Mr. Lawrence discussing with Mr. Greg wrote (*‘Times Literary Supplement,’ 26th February, 1920*). ‘Companies sometimes united to save doubling. The Revels’ Account will shew him that in January, 1612, the King’s men and the Queen’s men united to play *The Silver Age* at Court. On this score I would draw his attention to Professor Quincy Adams’ important paper

on "Shakespeare, Heywood, and the Classics" in "Modern Language Notes" for June, 1919, which satisfactorily substantiates Mr. Ernest Law's arguments as to the genuineness of the Revels' Documents of 1612.

My closing question is: Are we justified in accepting as *sole evidence* in a highly controversial question, the testimony of one part of a document when other parts of that document have been proved to be false?

Terminal Abstract only (see p. 21).

Note.

THE WILL OF EDMUND TYLNEY Esq. OF LEATHERHEAD, Surrey, Master of the Revels to King James (Wingfield 110 P.C.C.) 1st day of July 1610. After the usual religious forms devoutly expressed, he leaves his body to be buried in the Parish Church of Streatham in the said county of Surrey, near to the monument of my father, who was buried there long since. I wish to be buried without any pomp, but a funeral sermon for which is to be paid forty shillings to the preacher and forty shillings to the Church. A monument is to be erected on the place which I have fixed with the parson and the Churchwardens. It was agreed to be finished within six months after my decease and fixed at the cost of 20 marks, as I have agreed with the stonemason near Charing Cross to pay him. I bequeath 'all my apparel, on which I have spent much money very vainly which might have been better employed,' I will my overseers to sell to their best value, and the money distributed among the poor of their parishes of Leatherhead and Streatham. To thirteen poor old men and women whom I have hitherto helped weekly, I leave a black frieze gown and five shillings in money. Whereas I stand bound in a bond of £100 to pay to Margaret Cartwright widow, an annuity of £10, if she survive me, I will that my executors pay her £50 down and take a receipt. If she die before me, I will that the said £50 be paid to Anne Hassard, wife of Robert Hassard, Junior, for her care and kindness to me during my sickness. And I bequeath unto my said cousin Robert Hassard and her £100 between them, and to her the whole furniture of the bedroom which she ordinarily used with bed and bed hangings and bed furniture and a suitable allowance of pewter and silver and linen for their housekeeping, and

I bequeathe to their son my godson Edmond Hassard £60, and their daughter Anne Hassard £20, by way of legacy. I bequeath unto the reparacion of the Stone Bridge at Leatherhead £100 to be paid if they are finished within one year after my decease, or else, as the Sessions of Kingston have laid the re-edification of the bridge upon the whole shire, in the manner decided on by a properly impanelled jury. I bequeathe unto Frederick Tylney my godson son of Thomas Tylney £200, to be employed by his mother on his behalf, until he come of age. And I bequeath to Mr. Rabbit, Parson of Streatham, and Mr. Griffith Vaughan, Parson of Ashstead by Leatherhead my two overseers for their pains, all my Books to be divided between them and a great Silver bowl with a cover to each of them. To all my old Servants a years wages apiece, and to Roger Chambers, who waiteth on me in my Chamber five pounds in money. I will that the house I dwell in at Leatherhead, with all its appurtances and furniture and all the grounds belonging thereto, shall be sold to its best value for these uses, and beyond any legacies that I may make on my deathbed by word of mouth, before two witnesses, all the remainder of the plate and the money that shall belong to me to the will and use of Thomas Tylney Esquire of Shelley co. Suffolk, whom I make my Executor, and for his aid and assistance Thomas Goodman of Leatherhead to whom I leave for his pains 40 ounces of Silver Plate. Proved by Thomas Tylney Executor before the proper authorities the 17th day of October, 1610.

This becomes intensely important to us, not only in regard to the man who was so much concerned with the Revels, but in regard to him who had the duty of reforming Shakespeare's plays.

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